I: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 316 173 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo. [776] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is [784] prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than [136] those of any other part of the river. But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-S (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



696 always procurable for money, it is probable that the sentence of the law may have been death, although in practice the culprit was permitted to compromise by stripes, imprisonment, and fine. Such a course was in strict keeping with the precepts of their religion, which is averse to the taking of any animal life.

681 The two modes of capital punishment were *drowning*
696 and *crucifixion*. In the former the culprit was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Indus with a stone fastened to his neck.* In the latter mode the criminal was conducted to the *Songsa*, or "place of execution," by the *Shetma*, or "executioner." The *Sal-shing*,† or "crucifix," was a St. Andrew's cross fixed to an upright stake. The culprit was stripped naked; his hands and feet were bound to the extremities of the cross, while his head was secured to the upright stake by his own hair. In this position he was either quickly tortured to death by boiling oil, or was slowly allowed to expire under all
● [784] the agonies of thirst and physical suffering. It is worthy of notice that in both of these modes of capital punishment, the shedding of blood was studiously shunned; for the sentence of crucifixion was carried out by *binding*, instead of nailing, the criminal to the cross. I presume, therefore, that there must have been some religious repugnance to putting a culprit to death by any mode that involved the shedding of blood. Mutilation of one or of both hands was, however, occasionally employed.

* Fra Orazio, p. 291. The same punishment was carried into effect in the same manner in Great Tibet. The culprit was "getta al fiume con un gran sasso al collo."

† *gSal-shing*, "clear wood." For what reason such a name was given to the stake, it would perhaps be difficult to discover. Perhaps it was intended for the tree that *cleanses* from guilt.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



in the boiling oil.* The extraction of the *white* stone, with an uninjured hand, is held as a complete proof of innocence; while the extraction of the *black* stone, with uninjured hand, is equivalent to the Scotch verdict of "not proven," of which the accused receives the benefit.

The foregoing is a concise account of the practical laws of Ladák under its native rulers. Amongst a people who were averse to the taking of any animal life, the sentence of death was but seldom enforced; the last case of capital punishment, which was executed in 1845, being the only one during thirty years; and I suspect that even this sentence would not have been carried into effect but for the stern and unbending firmness of *Magna*, the dogra thanadar of Lé. The culprit was a blacksmith of Chachot, who had been repeatedly punished by imprisonment, fines, and stripes, for pilfering the gilt leaves of books from the monasteries and the gilded pinnacles of the *Chodtens*, or mausolea. His last exploit was the entire removal of the copper-gilt pinnacles from the *Chodtens* attached to the large monastery of Hémis. The thanadar was proof against all appeals for mercy, chiefly, I believe, with a view to conciliate the religious brotherhood of Hémis, and partly as a stroke of policy in a newly-conquered country, to exhibit a marked example of unflinching firmness in the execution of the law. As a Hindu, Magna Thanadar was quite indifferent in the matter of life or death. The unfortunate thief was therefore bound hand and foot,

* Fra Orazio, del Regno del Thibet, p. 290. The Capuchin father declares that the Tibetans can save their hands from injury by the use of some secret art (si servono d'un certo secreto, o per arte magica).

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



264 565 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for since the occupation of the country by the Hindu Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

262 784

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

## VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 565 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
[439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

●784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

saffron water from the vessel; then he swings the vessel with the feather several times around above the girl's head. Then he invokes the village and household gods and the demon princes with their vast army, and conjures them with powerful texts not to inflict any harm upon the bride and her family, and not to let good fortune escape with the bride from the parental house. In chorus the lamas murmur their formulas of exorcism, first mumbling dully to themselves, then more and more loudly they swing about the thunderbolt and the magic dagger, the bell, the kettle-drum, and the cymbals which they hold in their hands sound softly at first, then--they swell, growing increasingly loud, to a deafening noise; the lamas call out:

585 784

From the East may good fortune come!
From the West may good fortune come!
From the North may good fortune come!
From the South may good fortune come!
Yan-agug! May good fortune come!

"Yan-agug! Yan-agug! " the bystanders join in in shouting. "Yan-agug! Yan-agug! " all of them yell, shout in confusion for two or three minutes. Then everything suddenly becomes still.

Now the lamas lead the bride up to the house temple to take leave from the household gods. Three times the girl prostrates herself before the statues and images of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and demons. From that moment on the young woman is no longer permitted to set foot inside the parental household sanctum; from now on she enters into the tutelary and power domain of the gods of her husband's household. The jealousy of the deities of both households must be guarded against.

585 784

Then everyone descends to the chansa, and now the bagrogs and dsamo (the bridesmaids and her girl friends) lead the bride so that she may take leave of her parents who, together with the closest relatives, are already expecting her. Bowing down deep, crying loud and sobbing, Chosskyid embraces the legs of her mother, of her father, of her brothers, as well as those of her closest relatives and amid much bowing, at the same time knocking her wrists together so that the shell rings clatter, she calls out: "Farewell! Farewell! Do not forget /Following page 106 there is a full-page illustration with the caption: "Parting ceremony after the wedding. The lamas implore the gods for good luck on behalf of the bride (with bridal hat). (Tibetan Original

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13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



846 because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, 852 and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, 553 784 which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is 186 789 requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



643 651 644 [778] 643 574 [593] 643 793 [791] 788 792 [784]

the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue. His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room. In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose, while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however, his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earther ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

776 Jäschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse,[1] aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[832] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.[1]

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-lde-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
951 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak



796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says:

> "Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)."[2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
● 784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect*:

Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak



595 614 582 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 896 [264] [784] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 896 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lhabSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak



A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of